1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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though some of them could not resist the enticement and attraction of the movement. It was no doubt from the latter that the impulse emanated to honour the dead of the resistance movement in Jayaprana and thus to give a nationalistic and anti-feudal colouring to his cremation. In this way they more or less consciously attempted to give a new content to traditional forms. And the combination seems to have been a success at that time.

Such a combination of old and new is not possible in every situation and for every person. In some cases Western-type education, modern medical methods, contact with religions and cultures with another orientation, and the like may lead to general doubts of the meaning and the value of the old religious practices. The old then becomes meaningless in form and content, and so should be rejected: the money that is spent on temple festivals and rites or on individual ceremonies can, in many people's opinion, be better spent. This was, for instance, the thinking of the head of a Balinese family who stipulated that he was to be cremated in the simplest way and that the money saved should be used to create a scholarship.

How will the antithesis between the old and the new develop on Bali; what response will Balinese culture and religion give to this challenge? A non-Balinese, an outsider, is hardly the person to make predictions. 'A dog barking at a coconut squirrel: how will it ever get hold of it', is the judgement Balinese wisdom would pass on such an attempt. Rather, let us consider the view of a few modern Balinese on the subject.

Among them are some who expect great things from the fruitful influence of India. Their attitude will be considered below.[3] Others will not own to anything of the sort. They believe that the Balinese religion can retain its validity and vitality in modern times. If reforms are necessary, they can be made within the existing framework: there is no need to go a-borrowing or a-begging of someone else. One of this latter group has argued that Balinese young people who become acquainted with other religions tend as a result to participate more actively, and with more conviction, in their own religion.[4]

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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361 a few fragments left of the former *prasada*, the tower-shaped brick
172 structure from which the sanctuary took its name. The structure was completely destroyed during the great earthquake of 1917. Now a new *prasada* has been built by the people of the *desa* at the place where the former one stood. The way in which it was constructed deserves brief mention. Data for the notes which follow have been borrowed from an article by Dronkers, supplemented by information acquired on the spot.[1]

792 The direct stimulus to the restoration was the fact that the *barong*
789 stored in one of the temple buildings in the southeast corner of the inner court caught fire as a result of carelessness. A number of larger *puras* have a *barong* which is kept in a separate building on the temple grounds. Examples are Pura Pĕnataran Sasih at Pejeng, which is known for its extraordinarily large kettle drum, and Pura Tambangan Badung near Den Pasar. An important rôle as regards the *barong* is played by Pura Pĕngĕrebongan at Kĕsiman, where once every Balinese-Javanese year of two hundred ten days, on Sunday-Pon in the week of Mĕdangsia, the *barongs* from the country around are assembled in large numbers to be consecrated anew. It has not been sufficiently studied whether the *barong* may belong to one temple in particular, for example in view of the cycle of legends associated with it. In any case it can be said that the *barong* (and the *barong* play) are attributed great power in banishing evil influences.

The burning of the *barong* at Kapal provided the direct stimulus to restoring the *prasada*. Within the framework of Balinese thought this reason is a quite acceptable one. In many cases the restoration of a temple is only begun if a command has been received from the deity. Such a divine pronouncement is made known by means of a medium. Especially in times of disease, pestilence, and disaster people are on the lookout to be informed of their possible shortcomings vis-à-vis the world of the gods by means of such divine pronouncements.

792 The restoration of Pura Prasada required a great deal of sacrifice
185 in money and labour: Dronkers mentions the sum of a hundred fifty thousand guilders. The spectacular plan of restoration has

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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aroused interest throughout the whole territory of the former realm of Měngwi. Gifts are listed in public, on a blackboard: they consist not only of contributions in cash, but also of gifts in kind such as rice, bricks, cement, and even the use of a truck for a set period.

But for all this it was the four thousand inhabitants of the village of Kapal who had to bear the lion's share of the expense and effort, and it is justified to attempt, with Dronkers, to explain this initiative that has suddenly developed, after a thirty-two-year period of neglect, against the background of the contemporary situation. It is, moreover, not only in Kapal that the urge to temple restoration is manifesting itself. Throughout the island there is undeniable activity in this field. A great deal is also being done in touching up private dwellings, walls, and gates. And it is reported that the organizational forms within the Balinese system such as the *desa*, the *banjar*, and the *subak* are enjoying increased interest. Indeed, in the *pĕrbĕkĕlan* of Kintamani it was learnt that discipline in connection with the various forms of community services, which had slackened somewhat as a result of the events of recent years, was now tightening up again by mutual consent.

It is, moreover, certain that the young, progressive forces are concentrating on the forms of organization familiar to Balinese society, and primarily the *banjar* and the *subak*, with the intention of giving them a place in national reconstruction and the growing national consciousness, and of finding ways of modernization. The important and expensive irrigation project Yeh Archa in Karangasĕm, in which the *subaks* concerned have played an active rôle alongside of the agencies on the *daerah* (Bali) and *nĕgara* (East Indonesia) level, must be mentioned in this connection. There was talk of the Archa plan as early as 1935, but execution was constantly frustrated by the fact that the *subaks* were never sufficiently prepared to contribute their share, while at the present time those same *subaks* are urging a tempo faster than is justifiable technologically and organizationally. This activity can only be considered as a reaction to the events of recent years: the pressure of Japanese occupation and the period of turmoil and terror which

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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792 185 came to an end only in June, 1948, with the end of organized armed resistance against the Dutch on Bali.

346 The construction of the new *prasada* is also a significant fact as an architectural achievement. The work of building this eighteen-yards-high brick tower was accomplished within a period of five months. The master builder was I Made Nama, a young man of around thirty, a carpenter by profession, who had never worked with brick before. He was appointed to direct the building because he one day produced a six-feet-long draft design for the new *prasada*. According to his own statement he decided to make the design because of the fact that the desirability of restoring the *prasada* was constantly under discussion. He had formed his notions regarding the shape of the structure from statements of people who had known the original *prasada* in the period before the earthquake of 1917; the draft was revised five times before it proved to correspond to the memories of his elderly advisers.

The group of full-time workers with whom I Made Nama carried out the restoration, the *sĕka undagi* (the gild of carpenters, stonecutters, and builders), consisted entirely of people from the village itself. Only for the ornamentation and the detached statues was a specialist from elsewhere taken on to direct the work. The wages paid were significantly less than those obtaining on the open market, and hence had rather the character of a token compensation than of real wages.

Before an attempt is made to define further the position of Pura Prasada in the system of Mĕngwi state temples, some more information on the lay-out of the sanctuary is perhaps in order. For this a summary of the altars in the inner court may suffice. The temple consists of an inner court, a central court, and a forecourt. Access to the central court from outside is provided by a large split gate, whose cornice is divided into what are probably seven stories. As a result the gate has the appearance of a *meru* split in two halves. Just below the cornice there is an excellently accomplished monster's head, also divided over the two halves of the gate. A flight of twelve steps – unusually high for Bali – leads to the opening in the gate, which is some six feet above ground level.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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seven hundred *kepeng* according to the exchange. There is no demand for their insignificant products, and the deflated Dutch currency has become harder than ever to obtain.

The Balinese are more and more eager for the "advantages of civilization" in the form of inferior foreign cloth, bicycles, flashlights, aniline dyes, and motor-cars, and if their miserable earnings are not taken away by the Arab merchants it is only because they are already due for back taxes. Besides a tax on each household, there is a *sawa* tax (*padjeg*) and a tax (*upeti*) on dry grounds bearing coconut and coffee trees. The most hated of taxes is that paid every time a Balinese kills a pig, no matter how small, for which he needs a certificate. This has led to clandestine slaughter and with it the reduction of the pig supply, and the reward promised to denouncers has introduced the element of discord into otherwise unified communities. Dr. Korn, the authority on Balinese sociology, says that the population would prefer an export tax on cattle to the troublesome slaughter tax.

With the relentless drain of the island's wealth, poverty, too, is on the increase and the Balinese are threatened with the loss of their lands through failure to pay taxes. They have been forced to sell whatever they possessed of value — antiques, fine brocades, jewellery, and even the bits of gold that decorate their krisses — to tourists and gold-hoarders, while theft and prostitution are on the increase. It is to be feared that if present conditions continue, the simple and well-organized life of the Balinese will be seriously disrupted and their institutions will collapse as a result of the unavoidable social unrest.